

Message Text

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AMEMBASSY LISBON

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AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK

AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM

AMEMBASSY VIENNA

USMISSION NATO

C O N F I D E N T I A L ROME 1037

MOSCOW FOR USDEL

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, IT, XT

SUBJECT: THE SOCIALIST SUMMIT IN ELSINORE

1. DCM AND EMBOFF HAVE DISCUSSED SOCIALIST SUMMIT IN
DENMARK AT LENGTH WITH ANTONIO CARIGLIA WHO PARTICIPATED
AS MEMBER OF ITALIAN SOCIAL DEMOCRAT (PSDI) DELEGATION.

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CARIGLIA IS LONG-STANDING RELIABLE EMBASSY CONTACT, AND ABLE

LEADER OF HIS PARTY'S GROUP IN PARLIAMENT.

2. CARIGLIA WAS POSITIVE ABOUT THE OVERALL RESULTS OF THE MEETING, WHICH PERMITTED EUROPEAN SOCIALISTS TO COORDINATE THEIR VIEWS ON THE ENTIRE SPECTRUM OF MAJOR EUROPEAN PROBLEMS. TWO UNRESOLVED DIVISIONS DEVELOPED, HOWEVER, ONE ECONOMIC AND THE OTHER POLITICAL. ON ECONOMICS SCHMIDT LED THE FIGHT FOR A MORE TRADITIONAL, NON-INTERVENTIONIST GOVERNMENT POLICY, AND WILSON AND PALME FOR A MORE "SOCIALIST" LINE.

3. THE POLITICAL QUESTION WAS THE WISDOM OF SOCIALIST-COMMUNIST ALLIANCES, AND DEBATE CENTERED ON MITTERAND'S PROVOCATIVE POSITION. MITTERAND BEGAN BY SAYING THAT, IN HIS MEETING WITH KISSINGER, THE SECRETARY HAD APPEARED DISTRESSED AT THE PROSPECT OF COMMUNISTS SHARING POWER IN NATO COUNTRIES. MITTERAND POINTED OUT THAT THEY ALREADY DID IN PORTUGAL, AND FINLAND. MITTERAND CONCLUDED BY SAYING PSF HAS A POSITION TOWARD THE PCF WHICH WILL NOT CHANGE EVEN IF THERE IS OPPOSITION FROM THE US, NATO, THE EC-9 OR ANY OTHER GROUP.

4. TO THIS BOTH SCHMIDT AND WILSON TOOK STRONG EXCEPTION. (EVEN PALME WAS OPPOSED.) SCHMIDT RETORTED THAT MITTERAND SHOULD TAKE GERMAN VIEWS INTO ACCOUNT, AS THE GERMANS WOULD TAKE FRENCH VIEWS. GIVEN THE TIES WHICH THE FRENCH COMMUNIST PARTY MAINTAINS WITH MOSCOW, ITS PARTICIPATION IN GOVERNMENT WOULD DRASTICALLY AFFECT NATO, AND GRATLY AUGMENT GERMANY'S BURDENS AND CHANGE ITS RELATIONSHIP WITH THE US. (CARIGLIA COMMENTED THAT THE REPLY IMPLIED A THREAT TO MITTERAND OVER THE FUTURE OF THE FRANCO-GERMAN BALANCE IN EUROPE.) WILSON ALSO TOOK HARD ISSUE WITH THE MITTERAND THESIS. POINTING TO THE FINNISH PARTY SECRETARY, HE SAID HE FULLY UNDERSTOOD WHY HE HAD TO WORK WITH THE COMMUNISTS SINCE HE LIVED WITHIN RANGE OF RUSSIAN MACHINE GUNS, BUT COULD NOT UNDERSTAND WHY THE OTHERS SHOULD.

5. EVEN HIS SOUTH EUROPEAN ALLIES, OTHER THAN DEMARTINO, DID NOT SUPPORT MITTERAND. SOARES SAID CUNHAL WAS
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UNREGENERATE, AND THAT THE PCP HAD FORFEITED ANY RIGHT TO A ROLE IN GOVERNMENT THROUGH ITS PARTICIPATION IN THE RECENT COUP ATTEMPT. SPANISH SOCIALIST LEADER ALSO SAID HE HAD NO ILLUSIONS ABOUT THE COMMITMENT OF SPANISH COMMUNISTS TO DEMOCRACY, AND DID NOT ENVISION A COMMON FRONT WITH THEM. CARIGLIA HIMSELF HAD OPENLY TAKEN ISSUE WITH MITTERAND, STATING THAT IT WAS ONE THING TO REACH AGREEMENT WITH LOCAL COMMUNISTS ON THIS OR THAT ISSUE FOR TACTICAL REASONS, BUT

ANOTHER ENTIRELY TO FORM A STRATEGIC ALLIANCE FOR THE JOINT CONQUEST OF POWER. GIVEN THE TIES TO MOSCOW OF COMMUNIST PARTIES, INCLUDING THE ITALIAN, THEY ARE AUTOMATICALLY DISQUALIFIED FROM ASSUMING ROLES IN NATO GOVERNMENTS.

6. CARIGLIA SUMMED UP THE RESULTS OF THE DEBATE AS FOLLOWS: GENERAL RECOGNITION THAT THE MITTERAND THESIS HOLDS TO A POINT IN FRANCE, (SINCE IT HAD INDEED WORKED THUS FAR IN GIVING THE SOCIALISTS ASCENDANCY OVER THE COMMUNISTS) (WHICH ACCORDING TO MITTERAND IS ITS SOLE JUSTIFICATION); GENERAL RECOGNITION THAT IT IS CERTAINLY INAPPLICABLE ANYWHERE ELSE. ON ITALY, EVEN MITTERAND AND DEMARTINO RECOGNIZED THAT CONDITIONS WERE DIFFERENT FROM FRANCE, AND PSI WAS IN NO POSITION TO COMPETE WITH THE PCI. (COMMENT: THE LATTER HOWEVER, EXPECIALLY DEMARTINO, HOPE THAT THROUGH ELECTORAL GAINS, THE PSI WILL GAIN THE STRENGTH IT NEEDS TO GO THE MITTERAND WAY.) CARIGLIA SPECULATED THAT MITTERAND FEELS HIS ISOLATION ON THE ISSUE AND IS PROMOTING THE FORMATION OF HIS LATIN BLOC TO ENHANCE HIS POSITION. VOLPE

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